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More or less outright and implied reference has become customary, in ethnological works dealing with California, to three or four areas of culture, or ethnic provinces, distinguishable in the state.[2] Roughly, the Tehachapi range and the vicinity of Point Concepcion mark off the southern from the central type of civilization, while the northwestern type extends south to a line running from Mt. Shasta to Cape Mendocino or a little to the south thereof. East of the crest of the Sierra Nevada the culture of central California changes into that of Nevada, or more properly of the Great Basin. In the south, the Colorado river, with some of the adjoining desert, must be set apart from the mountain and coast tracts. In summary fashion, these areas may be delineated as in map 1.

Yet any map of this nature creates an erroneous impression of internal uniformity and coherence. Thus, all in all, it is true that the "central" Yokuts are probably more similar to the "central" Wintun in the totality of their life than to the "southern" Gabrielino. But innumerable cultural elements have reached the Yokuts from the south, and they themselves have very likely developed local peculiarities of which some have filtered across the mountains to the Gabrielino. Consequently any statement which tended to create the impression that the Yokuts and Wintun belonged to a block of nations in which certain traits were standard and exclusive, would mislead.

Just so in the northwest. The moment the Yurok and Hupa are left behind, central Californian traits begin to appear even among their most immediate neighbors. These traits increase in number and intensity among the peoples to the south and east. After a time we find ourselves among tribes such as the Coast Yuki, who undoubtedly appertain to the central province, yet who still make string or bury the dead or do various other separate things in the most distinctive northwestern manner.

[1] Based on chapter 57 of "The Indians of California," a prospective Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology: by permission.

[2] For instance, "Types of Indian Culture in California," present series, II, 81–103, 1904.

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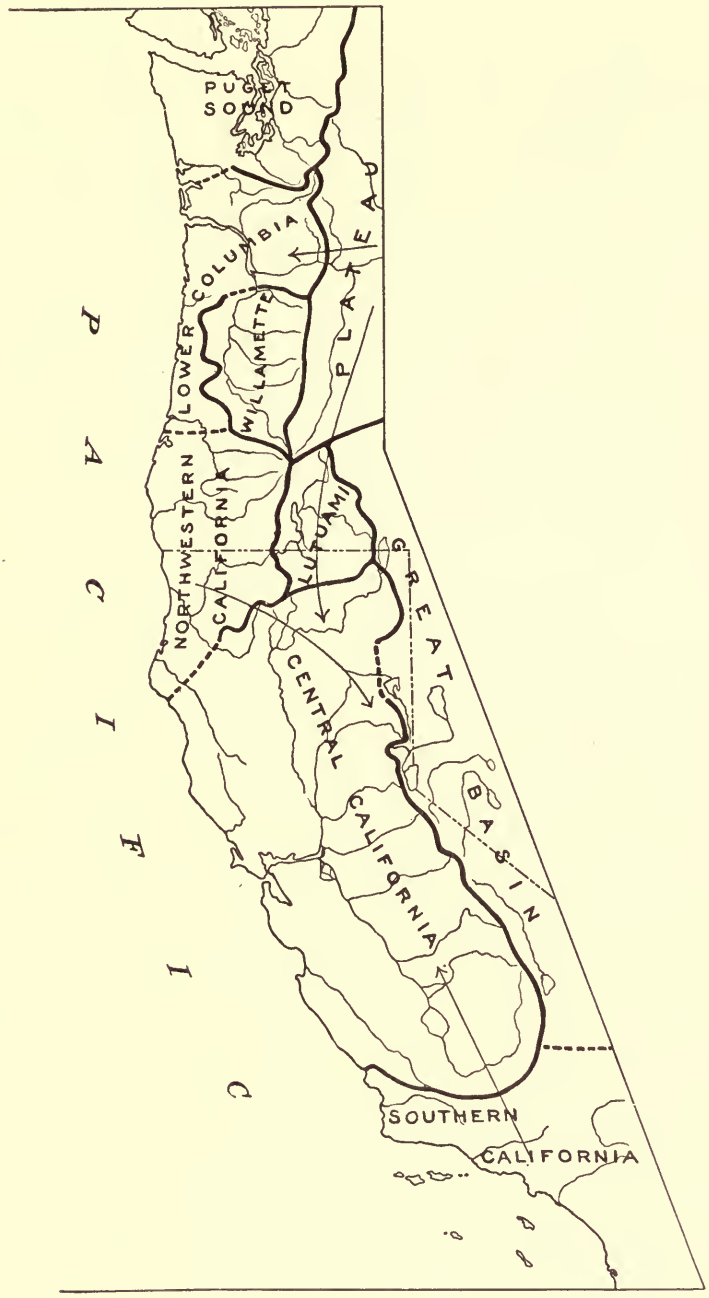
Certain centers or hearths of the several types of culture, on the other hand, become apparent rather readily, and, moreover, fuller information, instead of distracting and confusing the impressions first formed, strengthens them: the focus of each culture becomes narrower and more distinct.

Thus there seems no possible ground to doubt that the center of gravity and principal point of influence of the northwestern culture was the limited area occupied by the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa; with primacy among these to be attributed probably to the Yurok.

The heart of the central province is not quite so definite, but unquestionably lay between the Pomo, the more southerly Wintun, and the Valley Maidu; with the southern Wintun, as the middle one of the three, by far the most likely leaders.

In the south, one center is recognizable on or near the coast. The most developed peoples about this center were the Chumash, Gabrielino, and Luiseño. As regards religion and institutions, we happen to know much the most about the Luiseño; but there is direct evidence that a considerable part of Luiseño religion was imported from the Gabrielino, and precedence must therefore be given to this people. As to the choice between them and the Chumash, the Gabrielino must again be favored. Our knowledge of Chumash practices is scant, but there is so complete an absence of any indication that they seriously influenced the institutions of their neighbors, that their civilization, at least on this side, can hardly have had the potency of that of the Gabrielino. A complication is indeed caused by material culture, which, so far as it can be reconstructed from early descriptions and particularly through the evidence of archaeology, was most developed among the Chumash or among that special branch of the Gabrielino who through their island habitat were in closest communication with the Chumash. Again, however, Chumash example did not reach far, and it is therefore likely that it is a localized development of technology which confronts us among the Chumash as against a much more penetrating and influential growth of social and religious institutions among the Gabrielino.

The hearth of the type of culture which radiated from the Colorado river must beyond doubt be sought either among the Mohave or the Yuma. As between the two, the Mohave are probably entitled to precedence, both because they were the more populous tribe, and



Map 1.—Provinces and sub-provinces of native civilization on the Pacific Coast of the United States. Arrows indicate cultural irradiations.

because it appears to be solely their influence which has reached to northern groups like the Chemehuevi, whereas southern tribes like the Diegueño give unmistakable evidence of having been affected by the Mohave as well as by the nearer Yuma.

Geographical position, on the other hand, would point to the Yuma, who are not only more centrally situated than the Mohave with reference to tribes of the same lineage, but have their seats at the mouth of the chief affluent of the Colorado, the Gila, up and down which there must have gone considerable communication with the Pima, the non-Yuman people of the Southwest who on the whole seem to be culturally most nearly related to the Yumans of the Colorado valley. The Yuma had the Cocopa and other groups below them toward the mouth of the river, but above the Mohave as well as to their west there lived only Shoshoneans. Further, the Diegueño and the various Yuman groups of the northern half of Baja California are much more nearly in contact with the Yuma. General probability would therefore lead to an expectation that the focus of the Yuman culture of the Colorado would be found below the Mohave, among or near the Yuma. It seems not unlikely that if we could trace the history of this area sufficiently far back, such would prove to have been the case, but that in recent centuries the Mohave, owing to an increase in numbers or for some other reason, have taken the lead in cultural productivity.

Several peculiar traits, some of them positive and some of them negative, are found in a region which forms a sort of tongue separating the San Joaquin valley from southern California. This region lacks pottery, which occurs on both sides; practices burial instead of cremation; is without exogamic institutions, which are also known both to the north and south; and is the area in which the so-called "bottle-neck" basket is dominant. The distribution of these several cultural elements is not identical, but in general they characterize the peoples from the southern Yokuts and Tübatulabal to the Chumash. A radiation from the latter people can scarcely be thought of because specifically Chumash features are not found among the peoples inhabiting the more northerly part of the tongue. A possible Shoshonean influence from the Great Basin must be disallowed on parallel grounds. In fact, the traits in question are so few and diverse that it is doubtful whether they have any historical connection. If they are intrinsically associated it is perhaps chiefly through the fact that this middle upland region failed to be reached in certain respects by both central and southern influences.

It would of course be a grave mistake to assume that the whole of each type of culture had emanated from the group or small array of groups at its focus. Every tribe must be viewed as contributing to the civilization or civilizations of which it partakes. It is only that the most intensive development or greatest specialization of culture has occurred at the hearth. This renders it probable that more influences have flowed out from the center to the peripheries than in the opposite direction. But the movement must necessarily always have been reciprocal in considerable degree. What has probably happened in many instances is that the tribe which carried a certain set of practices and institutions farthest came thereby to attain a status in which it reacted more powerfully upon its neighbors, so that the civilizational streams which gathered into it were made over and caused to stream out again. In this sense the central or focal groups have undoubtedly been influential in coloring to some degree the culture of their entire areas, while contributing in each case probably only a very small proportion of the substance thereof.

It need hardly be added that a considerable concentration of population would be expectable at the focus of each province, together with a perceptible thinning out of numbers towards the margins. This, so far as can be judged, was the case. It is however of interest that diverse topographies are represented by the centers. In the northwest, the distinctive physiographic feature of the focal area is streams of sufficient size to be navigable and rich in salmon; in the central province, it is the heart of a wide valley; in the south, a group of islands and a mainland shore washed by still ocean reaches; and in the southeast, the vast Colorado with its annually overflowed bottom lands in the midst of a great desert. No single type of physical environment can therefore be said to have been permanently stimulative to concentration of numbers and the furtherance of civilization in California.

RELATIONS OF THE NORTHWEST CALIFORNIA PROVINCE

All the cultures of California are without question at least partly related in origin to more widely spread civilizations outside the state.

The northwestern culture is obviously part of that generally known as the culture of the North Pacific coast. The center of this larger civilization is clearly in British Columbia, but this center is so remote that any direct comparison of the Yurok and Hupa with the Kwakiutl or Haida would be unprofitable. In Washington and Oregon, however,

three subtypes of this culture are recognizable, after exclusion of the inland culture of the Plateau east of the Cascades, the curiously simple culture of the Kalapuya in the Willamette valley, and that of the Lutuamian Klamath and Modoc in the Klamath lake basin. The three coastal provinces, which alone come into question in a comparison with northwestern California, are, in order from the north, and as sketched in map 1:

I. *Puget Sound,* with all or part of the Olympic peninsula, and probably the southeastern portion of Vancouver island and the opposite coast of British Columbia. The groups in this area are clearly dependent for much of their culture on the Kwakiutl and other tribes to the north. Coast Salish groups are the principal ones in this province.

II. *The Lower Columbia,* up to the Dalles; with the coast from about Shoalwater bay on the north to the lower Umpqua river on the south. The Chinook were nearly central and perhaps dominant. Other members were the Yakonan Alsea and Siuslaw, the most southerly of the coast Salish, and a few Athabascans.

III. *Southwestern Oregon,* probably from the Umpqua and Calapooya mountains, and inland to the Cascade range. The principal stream is Rogue river, but the Coquille and upper Umpqua seem to have formed part. The abutment is on four ethnic sub-provinces: the Lower Columbian just outlined, the Kalapuyan of the Willamette, the Lutuamian of the Klamath lake drainage, and the Northwest Californian of the Klamath river. The majority of the inhabitants were Athabascans; the other groups were the Kus and Takelma, and a branch of the Shasta. The Takelma, except for being wholly off the coast, may be taken as typical.

The table[3] summarizes the principal comparable ethnic traits of these three regions and of northwestern California. It appears at once that northwestern California and southwestern Oregon are very closely related, so much so, in fact, as to constitute but a single area. They agree at least three times out of four in the cases in which either of them differs from the Lower Columbia. The latter in turn is clearly much more closely connected with Puget Sound than with southwestern Oregon—whether chiefly as a marginal dependent or, as

[3] The table is based chiefly on A. B. Lewis's valuable "Tribes of the Columbia Valley and the Coast of Washington and Oregon," Memoirs Amer. Anthr. Assoc., I, 147–209, 1906; George Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon," Contrib. to North Amer. Ethnology, I, 157–241, 1877; Edward Sapir, "Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon," and "Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon," Amer. Anthropologist, n.s., IX, 251–275, 1907, and Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, XX, 33–49, 1907. Sapir was able to secure only the veriest scraps of information as to the perished Takelma culture, but handles them with such discriminating precision and fine ethnological insight that these fragments, when matched alongside the fuller data on Yurok and Hupa civilization, reconstruct astoundingly. The achievement is the more notable in that Sapir was without personal acquaintance with the Yurok-Hupa culture and that the literary data on it were slender when he wrote.

seems more likely, as a separate center of some distinctness, can scarcely yet be decided; and need not be in the present connection. The important fact is that the general culture of the coast is decisively altered somewhere in the region of the Umpqua mountains, and that thence south, as far as it prevails at all, that is, to Cape Mendocino, it is substantially uniform. In other words, we need not recognize three provinces of the coast culture in Oregon and Washington and a fourth in California: there were only three south of the forty-ninth parallel. The first lay in Washington with some extension into British Columbia; the second was mainly Oregonian, with some overlap into Washington; and the third centered in northern California but ran well into Oregon.

The cultural predominances of the California over the Oregon tract within this last area can scarcely be proved outright, because the life of the tribes of southwestern Oregon broke and decayed very quickly on contact with the Americans and has been but sadly portrayed. Yet this very yielding perhaps indicates a looseness of civilizational fiber. There may have been highly developed rituals held in southwestern Oregon comparable to the Yurok Deerskin dance, which have not only perished but been forgotten; but it is far more likely that the reason the ceremonies of this region vanished without a trace is that they never had much elaboration nor a deep hold on native life. The Gabrielino and Chumash have been longer subject to Caucasian demoralization and are as substantially extinct as any Oregon group; but there is not the least doubt as to their religious and general cultural preëminence over their neighbors. The southern Wintun have been cuffed about for a century and are nearly gone, but it is reasonably clear that the Kuksu cult and culture centered among them. If the Rogue river tribes had cultivated a religion surpassing or even rivalling that of the groups on the lower Klamath, it is scarcely conceivable that its very memory should have dissolved in two generations.

Where direct evidence is available, it uniformly points the same way. The Yurok house is larger as well as more elaborate than that of the Takelma; the sweat-house more specialized; their shamanism appreciably more peculiar; their formulas and myths show a much more distinct characterization. The Takelma give the impression of being not only on a level similar to that of the Shasta, but specifically like them in many features; and the Shasta obviously are culturally subsidiary to the Yurok and Karok. What holds for the Takelma, there is no reason to doubt held for the Athabascans who nearly

ELEMENTS OF NATIVE CIVILIZATION ON THE NORTHERN PACIFIC COAST OF THE UNITED STATES

	N. W. California	*S. W. Oregon*	*Lower Columbia*	*Puget Sound*
BODY AND DRESS				
Deformation of head	none	none	universal; sign of free birth	general
Tattooing: women	chin almost solid	3 stripes on chin	little; none on face	little; none on face
men	measuring stripes on arm	measuring stripes on arm		
Women's hair	2 clubs in front	2 clubs[1]	parted but flowing	
Nose ornament	dentalium[2]	dentalium	dentalium	probably none
Women's hat	brimless cap	brimless cap[3]	brim, peak, and knob	same or flattened cone
Men's hat	none	fur cap		
Men's deerskin shirt	none[4]	worn	none	none
leggins	in snow only[4]	reported	only inland	
robe	of deerskin	of deerskin	twined fur or mountain goat wool	woven cedar bark or dog hair
Women's petticoat	of deerskin; shaman's of fibre	of fibre	of fibre	of fibre
deerskin gown	none	mentioned as if usual[5]	only inland	
HOUSES				
Material of planks	redwood, etc.	sugar-pine, cedar; poor people, bark	cedar; inland, bark	cedar
Position of planks	vertical	vertical	vertical	horizontal
Breadth in feet	20	12	up to 30 or 40	up to 60
Length	23	15–20	up to 100	up to 500
Subdivisions	none[6]	none	present	present
Mat beds	on floor	on floor; girls on platform	on raised platform	on raised platform
Excavation	center of house only	whole area	whole area	whole area
Depth in feet	2–5	1–5	3–5	3–5

[1] Takelma, men shamans only.

[2] Karok, Tolowa. The Yurok and Hupa bore the nose of the dead.

[3] The Takelma imported these from California.

[4] The Shasta agree with the Oregonians.

[5] The Takelma speak of a gown with fringes ornamented with *Xerophyllum*. This may be a hybrid of gown and Yurok petticoat, or a confused description of the latter.

[6] Except a little anteroom for storage of wood.

ELEMENTS OF NATIVE CIVILIZATION ON THE NORTHERN PACIFIC COAST OF THE UNITED STATES—(*Continued*)

HOUSES	*N. W. California*	*S. W. Oregon*	*Lower Columbia*	*Puget Sound*
Entrance	round	rectangular	round or oval	round or oval
Door	sliding	sliding	hung	
Ridge	two	one	one	none; shed roof
Carved or painted	no	no	yes	yes
Summer house	none	brush hut	rush lodge	
Inmates	7–8	10+ (?)	several families	several families
SWEAT-HOUSE				
Permanent sunk	oblong; planks; no earth covering	rectangular; planks; earth covered	referred to in myths	doubtful
Movable[7]	none	for women only	none on coast; inland, doubtful	doubtful
Occupation	6–7 men sleep in	6 men sleep in		
Heat	fire	steam from hot stones	doubtful	
CANOE				
Material	redwood		cedar	cedar
Length	18 feet		up to 40–50 feet	40–50 feet
Prow	blunt	"like butcher's tray"	sharp; blunt inland	sharp
Painted or carved	no		yes	yes
Coasting voyages	no		yes	yes
BASKETRY				
Twining: warp	hazel	hazel or willow		
Weft	conifer roots split	split roots		split roots
White patterns	*Xerophyllum tenax*	probably *Xerophyllum*	*Xerophyllum*	*Xerophyllum*
Black patterns	maidenhair fern	mud dyed		
Red patterns	alder dyed	alder dyed		
Decorating technique	overlaid (faced) weft	overlaid (faced) weft	wrapped twining; false embroidery	wrapped twining; false embroidery
Checker and twill work	none	not mentioned		yes

[7] The Plains type: low, small, mats thrown over willows.

ELEMENTS OF NATIVE CIVILIZATION ON THE NORTHERN PACIFIC COAST OF THE UNITED STATES—(*Continued*)

BASKETRY	*N. W. California*	*S. W. Oregon*	*Lower Columbia*	*Puget Sound*
Coiling	none	none	inland; N. of Columbia, imbricated	
Wallets and bags	none	not mentioned	yes	
Conical burden basket	yes	yes		
Mortar hopper	yes	yes	not mentioned	
Cradle	yes	yes	of wood	of wood
UTENSILS				
Wooden troughs or bowls	rude, unornamented		well made, ornamented	
Joined boxes	none		probably only as imported	yes
Spoons	elk antler, geometric carvings	elk antler	mountain sheep or goat, geometric carvings	mountain sheep or goat, animal carvings
Mush paddle	yes	yes		
Slab mortar	yes	yes		
Seed beater	of basketry	a stick		
Salmon harpoon	two pronged	apparently two-pronged		
Drum	none	none (Takelma)		
WAR				
Armor	of rods or elk hide	elk hide over rods; hide helmets	rods or hide	
Shield	none	not reported	few; probably inland only	
Scalps	not taken			
War dance	of incitement or settlement	apparently of incitement		
FOOD				
Salmon	staple	important	staple	staple
Acorns	staple	staple among Takelma	some	
Camass and bulbs	some bulbs	some bulbs	important	
Wasp larvae	eaten	eaten		
Tobacco	cultivated	cultivated	little used	little used

ELEMENTS OF NATIVE CIVILIZATION ON THE NORTHERN PACIFIC COAST OF THE UNITED STATES—(*Concluded*)

	N. W. California	*S. W. Oregon*	*Lower Columbia*	*Puget Sound*
SOCIETY				
Social rank due to	possession of wealth	possession of wealth	possession of wealth	birth
Slaves	by debt	by debt	by war	by war
killed at grave	no	no	sometimes	sometimes
Descent	paternal	paternal	paternal	paternal
Clans	none	no trace	no trace	
Village exogamy	none except for true kin	none except for true kin	none except for true kin	
Potlatch	no	no record	unimportant	important
Valuation of dentalia	by number to arm length; measured by fives	measured by tens	by fathom	
Burial	in ground, recumbent	in ground, sitting	in canoes, often elevated; inland, in houses	in canoes or boxes set in trees
RELIGION				
Masks or societies	none	none	none	yes
Formulas	long, narrative or dramatic	brief, type of prayers		
Girls' adolescence ceremony	yes[8]	yes[9]	yes	yes
Ritual number	5, 10	5	5	5
Cause of disease	pain object in body	pain object in body	pain object or theft of soul	
Shaman's power due to	pain objects	spirits	spirits	spirits
Sex of shamans	chiefly women	men or women	chiefly men	
Non-shamans own spirits	rarely	sometimes	generally	

[8] Weakest among the Yurok.

[9] The Takelma ceremony is very similar to that of the Karok and Shasta: the girl may not look about, wears a visor of bluejay feathers, sleeps with her head on a mortar hopper; for five days men and women dance in a circle.

surrounded them. The lower Klamath thus is the civilizational focus of the drainage of the Rogue and probably of most of the Umpqua.

The cause of this predominance could be laid theoretically to one or both of two causes: exposure to external ethnic influences, or physiographic environment. Extraneous cultural influence can be dismissed in this case. The center of the coast civilization as a whole lay north: the Oregonians were the nearer to it. Central California has given too little to the lower Klamath region to be of moment—or at least gave only underlying elements, not those specializations that mark the cultural preëminence which is being considered. The latter quality central California did not possess, as against northwestern California. Natural environment therefore must be the direct or indirect cause; and sufficient explanation is found in the fact that the Klamath is the largest stream entering the Pacific between the Sacramento–San Joaquin on the south and the Columbia on the north—the third largest, in fact, that debouches from this face of the United States. Within the northwest California–southwest Oregon area, the largest stream held the largest number of inhabitants, particularly on its lower reaches, and allowed them to accumulate more densely. This concentration provided the opportunity, or was the cause, however we may wish to put it, of a more active prosecution of social life.

It may seem strange that the peak or focus of this culture should be eccentric, that Yurok influence, to call it such, should have extended several times as far to the north as to the south; and particularly that it should penetrate to remote parallel streams and not to the headwaters of its own drainage system. Such an objection may seem theoretically valid, but there is precedent for the eccentricity. The culmination of the North Pacific coast culture as a whole is perhaps to be found among the Haida or Tsimshian, near the northern end of its long belt. In the Southwest, the Pueblos of the Rio Grande have for centuries been culturally predominant, and yet they lie on the eastern edge of the province. There is accordingly no reason for hesitating to accept as a fact the much more rapid southward than northward fading out of the culture of northwestern California.

There does not seem to be a satisfactory physiographic explanation for this unequal distribution. That the Trinity and the Eel soon become small streams in a rugged country as their course is followed, should not have been sufficient to prevent the unchecked spread up them of northwestern influences, since the northwestern culture is well established in a similar environment on the upper Rogue and

Umpqua. It would seem, accordingly, that the cause has been a social one. Such a cause can be sought only in the presence of another civilization—in this case that of central California, as represented by the Kuksu-dancing nations, and particularly the Pomo. The Pomo subtype of the central culture must therefore be considered as having been established nearly as long as that of the Yurok. This inference is corroborated by the fact that about the head of the Sacramento valley, including the Pit river region, to which the Kuksu cult and basketry of Pomo type have not made their way, and where specific central Californian influences are weak, numerous elements of the northwestern civilization have penetrated almost across the breadth of the state.

Physiography can however be called in to explain why the culture of the Yurok did not flow more freely east and northeast up its main stream, the Klamath, to the Lutuami. The elevated lake habitat of these people is very different from the region of coastal streams. Moreover, it is nearly shut off from them by the southern end of the great Cascade range, but is rather open toward the Great Basin and the more northerly Plateau.

The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or Plateau admixture. Since the introduction of the horse, the Lutuami mode of life has evidently been modified analogously to that of the Plateau peoples of the Columbia, although less profoundly; and with the horse came a number of cultural elements from the Plateau, or even from the Plains; of which some went on to the Shasta and Achomawi. This recent modification appears to have given Lutuami culture a more un-Californian aspect than it originally possessed. Neither the Kalapuya nor the Klamath-Modoc were a numerous enough people to have possessed a truly distinctive civilization. The Kalapuya are gone, but nearly a thousand Lutuami remain, and as soon as their society and religion are seriously inquired into, their precise cultural affiliations will no doubt become clear.

As regards the part of environment in general, it is clear that the culture provinces of the Pacific frontage of the United States are essentially based on natural areas, particularly of drainage. Thus the

central Californian province consists of the great interior valley of that state with the adjacent coast. The Plateau is the drainage of the Columbia above the Cascade range; the Great Basin the area which finds no outlet to the sea. The one exception is northwestern California, whose boundary on the north cuts across the Umpqua, and on the south across the Klamath, the Trinity, and the Eel. The streams in this district have a northward trend, and it appears that both the Lower Columbia and the northwest California cultures retained enough of the seaboard character of the British Columbia civilization to enable them better to cling along the coast than to push up the long narrow stream valleys that more or less parallel it.

At the same time, there is not a single distinctly maritime culture in the entire stretch from Cape Flattery to Baja California, except in a measure that of Puget Sound. Lower Columbia and northwestern California cultures clearly are river civilizations; that of central California evinces a complete negation of understanding or use of the sea. In southern California, the acme of culture is indeed attained in and opposite the little Santa Barbara archipelago; but the great bulk of the province is a canoeless arid tract.

In nearly every instance, too, the province is either composed mainly of people of one stock or family, or one such group dominates civilizationally.

Puget Sound: Salish preponderant, Wakash possibly most characteristic.
Lower Columbia: Chinook most numerous and distinctive.
Willamette (distinctness doubtful): wholly Kalapuyan.
Lutuami (distinctness doubtful): wholly Lutuami.
Northwestern California: Athabascans in the majority, Algonkins culturally dominant.
Central California: distinctly a Penutian province with Hokan fringes.
Southern California: Shoshonean, although the Chumash are not without consequence.
Lower Colorado: Yuman, with perhaps some Shoshonean margin.
Great Basin: almost solidly Shoshonean.
Plateau: about balanced between Sahaptin and Salish.

It is also notable that in spite of this massing, no province is populated wholly by people of one origin. The two apparent exceptions are areas so weak culturally that their proper independence is doubtful.

RELATIONS OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AND LOWER COLORADO PROVINCES

Both the southern California and lower Colorado cultures present numerous relations to the great Southwestern province, and it is not

open to doubt that in an ultimate aspect most of their constituent elements can be traced back to an origin among the Pueblos or ancestors of the Pueblos. At the same time it would be a very summary and misleading procedure to consider them outright as part of the Southwest. New foci have formed on the spot. If these are to be cancelled out merely because they are secondary to an older and deeper hearth of influences among the Pueblos, it would be equally justifiable to dismiss the latter focus as superficial and unimportant on the ground that its basic constituents have largely radiated out of Mexico. Understanding of the ultimate sources is of course indispensable to interpretation, but the ramifications and new starts are of no less consequence to an understanding of the history of a cultural growth. A direct merging of all the collateral branches into a single type merely on the ground of relationship, would lead to a prevention of the recognition of cultural individuality, as it might be termed, and thereby defeat the very end of truly historical inquiry. In any analytic treatment it should be the constant endeavor to point out those elements in the native life of the southern end of California that can be considered as derived from the culture of the Southwest, and at the same time to determine how far the groupings of these elements and the social attitudes thereby established have remained Southwestern or have become specifically peculiar.

The considerable distinctiveness that obtains in the south is perhaps most pregnantly illustrated by the fact that, of the two subtypes, the one geographically nearer to the Southwest proper, that of the lower Colorado, is on the whole not appreciably more similar to that of the Pueblos than is the one which has its center on the coast among the Gabrielino and their neighbors. Many things link the Mohave with the Pueblos and with the so-called nomadic tribes of Arizona. Other elements, such as the sand painting, however, are common to the Gabrielino and the Southwesterners proper and in these the Mohave and the Yuma do not participate. These elements may be somewhat the less numerous; but so far as can be judged in the present state of knowledge, the balance between the two classes is nearly even.[4] From this condition the only conclusion possible is that Southwestern

[4] The Yuma and Mohave share with the Southwestern peoples: agriculture; totemic clans as opposed to totemic moieties or local clans; a tribal sense; a military spirit; and the shield; and further agree with them in lacking several Californian traits, such as the regard for wealth; basketry as a well cultivated art; and the use of jimsonweed in an organized cult. On the other hand, the Gabrielino and their neighbors share with the Southwest the sweat-house-estufa, the unroofed ceremonial enclosure, the sand painting altar, and an organized and initiating cult society, all of which are wanting on the lower Colorado.

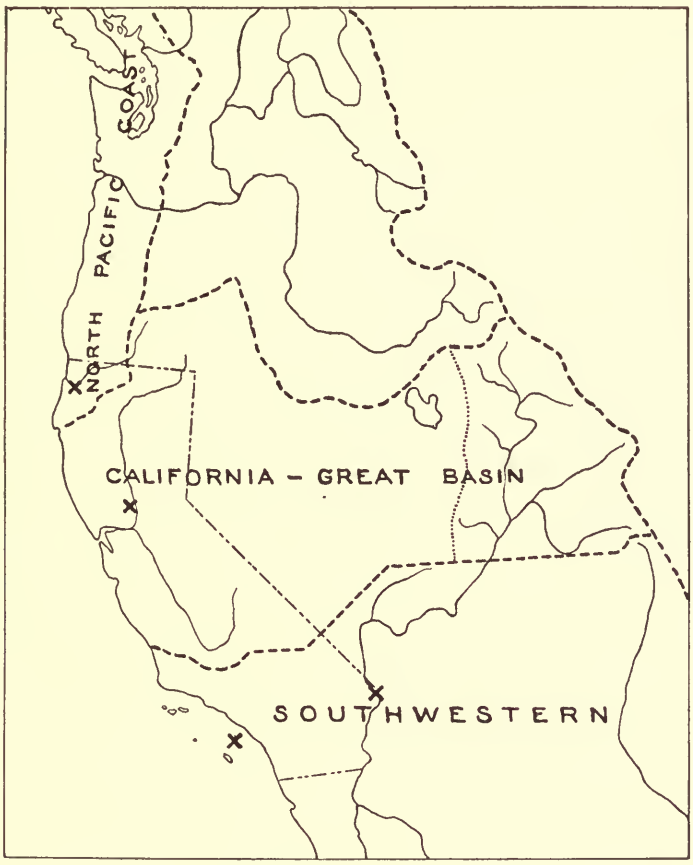
influences have infiltrated southern California slowly, irregularly, and disjointedly, with the result that these influences have been worked over into new combinations and even into new products faster than they arrived.

A searching examination of the relation of the southern California and lower Colorado sub-cultures to the Southwest will prove of great interest because it will presumably unravel something of the history of civilization in the former regions. Such an investigation can not yet be conducted with satisfaction because the mother culture of Arizona and New Mexico, probably at once the greatest and the most compact native civilization of the continent north of Mexico, and the one which documents and archaeology combine to illuminate most fully, has not yet been adequately conceptualized. Agriculture, pottery, stone architecture, clans, masked fraternities, dramatizing rituals, are the ethnic activities that rise before the mind: but not one is universal in the Southwest. If the Apache and Havasupai are not Southwestern, they are nothing at all; and yet one or both of them fail on every one of these supposed touchstones.

In fact, while ethnologists and historians speak constantly of the Southwest as if it were a well-defined ethnic unit, what they have in mind is the Pueblos with perhaps the addition of their town-dwelling ancestors, or of the interspersed and Pueblo-influenced Navaho. No satisfying picture that gives proper weight to the unsettled as well as to the agricultural tribes has yet been drawn; at least not so as to serve for detailed comparative analysis. The Pima are closely linked with the Pueblos, and in other respects with the lower Colorado tribes, but to unite them nonchalantly with either would be inadmissible. But so far as they are Southwestern, the Papago are Southwestern too; and if the Papago, then, in some measure at least, the Yaqui and Seri also.

The truth is that the Southwest is too insistently complex to be condensed into a formula or surrounded with a line on the map. Essentially this is true of every culture. The Haida no more represent the Chinook and the Yurok than the Hopi can be made to stand for the Pima, nor will an average struck in either case do justice to the essence of the Haida and Hopi *ethnos*. Such condensing efforts can be condoned only as preliminary steps to historical inquiry, as narrowly ethnological classifications which clear the way to an understanding of civilizational events. Elsewhere the cultures are relatively simple and the time element is not present to disturb a purely geographical view; hence the inadequacy of such reductions is less impressed on the student. But in the Southwest the factor of temporal

order obtrudes instead of eluding us blankly. Two diverse strains, the life of the town-dwellers and of the country-dwellers, remain distinct yet are interminably interwoven. Regional differences are striking in short distances and without notable environmental basis. And it is clear as daylight that the foundation of everything Southwestern is



Map 2.—The relation of California to the adjacent major culture areas. Crosses indicate centers of local development within California.

Mexican, and yet that everything in the Southwest has taken its peculiar shape and color on the spot. In short, a history of Southwestern civilization lies within measurable sight, but the antecedent analysis, which must include southern California, has not yet been made. Until this step has been taken, a general comparison of southern Californian with Southwestern culture would be either hesitating or foreed.

RELATIONS OF THE CENTRAL CALIFORNIA PROVINCE

While the north and south of aboriginal California are to be regarded as marginal regions of greater extraneous cultures, central California remains isolated. It cannot be viewed as a subsidiary because the potent civilization on which it might depend does not exist. The north and the south being accounted for and the ocean lying on the west, the only direction remaining open for any set of influences is the east, and this is the area of the barren Great Basin, populated by tribes of no greater advancement than the central Californians —on the whole even less developed. These tribes could not therefore well serve as carriers of culture into central California, if we may judge by analogy with the spread of civilization in other parts of the world. As a matter of fact, they did not. Specific culture elements characteristic of the Plains have not penetrated into California. A few such traits that are discernible in northeastern California have evidently come in not across the Great Basin but down the Columbia river and through the interior peoples of Oregon. Moreover, it is more than questionable whether these elements have not chiefly entered California as an adjunct of the recent white man and the horse. Nor have Southwestern influences penetrated central California to any appreciable extent by way of the Great Basin. Where Southwestern elements are traceable in central California, as in the San Joaquin valley, it is rather clear that they represent an immediate outflow from southern California.

Yet it is certain that central California and the Great Basin are regions of close cultural kinship. It is true that the food supply and material resources of the interior semi-desert have enforced a mode of life which makes a quite different impression. Analogies have therefore been little dwelt upon. Want of definite records concerning the Shoshoneans of the Great Basin renders exact comparisons somewhat difficult even now. Both regions, however, lack in common most of the characteristic traits of the cultures adjacent to them, and it is only necessary to set side by side their basketry, their houses, their technical processes, or the schemes of their societies, to be convinced that the bonds between the two areas are numerous and significant. This kinship may be expected to be revealed convincingly as soon as a single intensive study of any Great Basin tribe is made from other than a Plains point of view.

It has been the custom among ethnologists to recognize a "Plateau area" as possessing a common although largely negative culture. Our

exact information to date regarding the peoples of this "Plateau" is almost wholly from the northern part of the area, inhabited by the Salish. It is manifestly hasty to assume for the Shoshoneans of the Great Basin, which constitutes the southern half of this greater "Plateau," substantial cultural identity with the Sahaptin and interior Salish of the north. The latter have been subjected to powerful although incomplete influences from the North Pacific coast proper as well as from the Plains. Plains influences have penetrated also to the Shoshoneans, but the North Pacific coast can hardly have had much effect, and certainly not a direct one, in the Great Basin. The coastward tract here is central California, and we could therefore anticipate, on theoretical grounds, that this region had affected the Great Basin Shoshoneans much as the North Pacific coast has influenced the Salish of the Plateau proper, that is, of the upper Columbia and Fraser.

This is exactly the condition to which the available facts point. The civilization of central California is less sharply characterized and less vigorous than that of the coast of British Columbia. Its influences could therefore scarcely have been as penetrating. There must have been more give and take between Nevada and central California than between the interior and the coastal districts of British Columbia. But the kinship is clearly of the same kind, and the preponderance of cultural energy is as positively, though less strikingly, on the side of the coast in one tract as in the other. The Kuksu cult and the institutions associated with it have not flowed directly into Utah and Idaho, nor even in any measure into Nevada, but they indicate a dominance of cultural effectiveness which, merely in a somewhat lower degree, relates central California to the Great Basin substantially as the North Pacific coast is related to the northern Plateau.

The old "California culture area" of American ethnology therefore fades away. The north of the state, on broader view, is part of a great non-Californian culture; the south likewise. The middle region is dominant, not dominated; but its distinctiveness is only a superstructure on a basic type of civilization that extends inland far beyond the limits of the California of today. Local cultural patterns have been woven on the fabric of the far-stretched civilization of the north, and—twice—on that of the south. Thus, in a narrower aspect, not one but four centers of diffusion, or, in the customary phraseology, four types and provinces of culture, must be recognized in the state. In map 2 these conclusions are summarized.

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